

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 082605 TOSEC 030112
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S:JDAVIDOW:DH
APPROVED BY AF:WEDMONDSON
AF/S:DPETTERSON
S/P:MSPIEGEL(SUBS)
P:GMOOSE(SUBS)
S/S-O:JTHYDEN
S/S:DANDERSON

-----051879 310119Z /64

O 310106Z MAR 78 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 082605 TOSEC 030112

EXDIS, LAGOS FOR AMB. YOUNG, SECDEL ALSO FOR MOOSE

E.O. 11652: X-GDS-1,3

TAGS: RH, UK, PDEV

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: UK THINKING ON ALL-PARTIES MEETING

1. IN RESPONSE TO OUR QUESTIONING OF BRITISH SCENARIO
OUTLINED IN STATE 81715 (TOSEC 30077), UK EMBASSY HAS
PROVIDED CLARIFICATIONS FROM LONDON.

2. AT THE HEART OF THE BRITISH POSITION IS AN UNWILLING-
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NESS TO ENGAGE IN ANY NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PF BEYOND
TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS ON MATTERS RELATING TO THE CALLING
OF AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING UNTIL BOTH RPT BOTH THE PF AND
THE SALISBURY PARTICIPANTS AGREE THAT AN ALL PARTIES
MEETING SHOULD BE HELD. THE BRITISH HAVE NOT MADE IT
CLEAR WHETHER THE AGREEMENT TO AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING OF
ALL THE SALISBURY PARTICIPANTS OR ONLY SOME OF THEM

WOULD BE A NECESSARY PRECONDITION FOR A RESUMPTION OF MALTA WITH THE PF.

3. BRITISH SEE A THREE-STAGE APPROACH TO FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

A. CONSULTATIVE STAGE IN WHICH TECHNICAL MATTERS (PROCEDURES, TERMS OF REFERENCE, ETC.) OF CALLING AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WOULD BE ESTABLISHED. THIS COULD BE

ACCOMPLISHED BY LOW-GRAHAM TRAVEL TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, OR BY OTHER DIPLOMATIC MEANS.

B. IF THE RELEVANT PARTIES CAME TO AGREEMENT ON THE TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING, THE BRITISH WOULD THEN CONSIDER RESUMING MALTA WITH SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS OF AAP CONDUCTED BY US/UK AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL. ALTERNATIVELY, SUBSTANTIVE WORKING LEVEL (GRAHAM-LOW-CARVER) MEETING WITH PF COULD BE ARRANGED, IF PF WANTED IT.

C. ALL-PARTIES MEETING WITH TERMS OF REFERENCE NOT CONFINED TO THE AAP.

4. IN SUM, UK WANTS CLEAR COMMITMENT FROM ALL PARTIES THAT THEY WILL PROCEED TO STAGE C IN A DEFINED, SHORT CONFIDENTIAL

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PERIOD OF TIME (UK WOULD NOT MAINTAIN INSISTENCE ON 48 HOURS) BEFORE UK WOULD PROCEED TO STAGE B (RESUMPTION OF MALTA OR WORKING LEVEL SUBSTANTIVE MEETINGS WITH PF). UK ARGUES THAT AS BRITISH ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT PF'S DEMAND FOR A RESUMPTION OF MALTA, PF SHOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE A PRIOR COMMITMENT TO AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING.

5. IN RESPONDING TO UK'S CLARIFICATION, DEPARTMENT HAS POINTED OUT THAT BY DEMANDING THAT ALL PARTIES AGREE TO STAGE C BEFORE UK WOULD BE WILLING TO RESUME MALTA WITH PF, BRITISH ARE, IN EFFECT, GRANTING INTERNAL NATIONALISTS AND SMITH VETO OVER OUR FURTHER SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PF. WE HAVE STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING PF ENGAGED IN THE NEGOTIATING EFFORT AND OF NOT LENDING CREDENCE TO THE FRONT LINE'S SUSPICION THAT WE ARE ABANDONING OUR OWN PROPOSALS. WE HAVE ALSO NOTED INDICATIONS THAT A WORKING LEVEL APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PF MIGHT NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE PF OR THE FRONT LINE. THE BRITISH HAVE, IN TURN, SUGGESTED THAT NYERERE'S IDEA FOR A CONFERENCE OF WESTERN FOREIGN MINISTERS IN DAR IS NOT AN APPEALING ONE, THOUGH UK EMBASSY NOTES THAT LATTER POINT IS ONLY PRELIMINARY

REACTION FROM GRAHAM AND THAT CALLAGHAN MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN SOMETHING INVOLVING NYERERE MORE DIRECTLY.

6. WE SEE LITTLE HOPE OF TURNING BRITISH AROUND ON THIS BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY REACHES LAGOS. DIRECT COMMUNICATION FROM THE SECRETARY TO OWEN MIGHT PROVE HELPFUL.

7. LACK OF CONCERTED POSITION WITH UK ON FURTHER NEGOTIATING STRATEGY WOULD SEEM TO LIMIT THE PRESIDENT'S FLEXIBILITY, IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH OBASANJO, TO MAKE SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS ABOUT NEXT STEPS. ONE POSSIBILITY WOULD BE TO FOCUS CONVERSATIONS IN LAGOS ON URGING NIGERIANS AND FRONT LINE TO GET PATRIOTIC FRONT TO PRESENT CONCRETE PROOF OF PF'S NEW COMPROMISING ATTITUDE
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OF WHICH WE HAVE HEARD MUCH FROM FLP'S (MOSTLY NYERERE) WITHOUT SEEING ANYTHING BUT CONTRARY EVIDENCE FROM PF ITSELF. WITH SOMETHING FIRM FROM PF IN HAND, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO TURN BRITISH AROUND, USING ARGUMENT THAT NEW PF ATTITUDE TO ESSENTIALS OF AAP WOULD BE USEFUL IN PRYING SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA AWAY FROM SMITH, AT LEAST TO THE POINT TO WHERE THEY WOULD AGREE TO ATTENDING AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING AT WHICH A SETTLEMENT OFFERING GREATER STABILITY AND PEACE THAN THE ONE THEY HAVE WORKED OUT WITH SMITH MIGHT BE FORMULATED. COOPER

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PAGE 01 STATE 082605
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66011

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APPROVED BY: AF/S:DKPETTERSON
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 082605

EXDIS

FOL RPT STATE 082605 TOSEC 030112 SENT ACTION USDEL SECRETARY,
INFO LAGOS, LUSAKA, MAPUTO, CAPE TOWN, DAR ES SALAAM & GABORONE
DTD 31 MAR 78

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